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ANALYSIS OF 1979-80 SCHOOL YEAR REVEALS SHORTCOMINGS

Tirana MESUESI in Albanian 1 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by correspondent of MESUESI: "Let Us Ensure a Better Ideological and Scientific Direction of School Work"]

[Text] The annual analysis of education made this past Tuesday in the Ministry of Education and Culture examined the main problems of the 1979-1980 school year, along with the situation and the measures which must be taken for the start of the new 1980-1981 school year, in the spirit of the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP for the further development of science and technology.

In implementing the guidelines and decisions of the party for the school, a series of activities and analyses were organized throughout the country, such as the analysis and concretization of the tasks involved in increasing the scientific level of education, the work method and style of the sectors of education and culture in the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP of the current year, analyses for the improvement of the method and style of the research-scientific work of pedagogical departments, activities for the expansion of progressive experience, the training of teachers, and so forth. Studies for the assimilation of some subjects were organized, such as that of moral and political education, of Albanian language and literature, foreign languages and so forth, and measures were taken for the further strengthening of the programs, textbooks and teaching process.

The sections for education and culture in the districts paid more attention to the problems of the lower cycle, to the improvement of the ideological and scientific level, to teaching and to the best possible assimilation of knowledge by the pupils. Wide-ranging meetings were held throughout the districts, in which the problems were analyzed and measures were taken to improve the situation. Middle education was further extended and intensified, especially in the village where 12 new schools and branches were opened, and the number of pupils in agricultural middle education increased by more than 2,300 pupils in comparison to the preceding year. Results have been achieved in strengthening proletarian and scientific discipline in the work of the teachers and of the schools. Greater concern and interest is shown for the quantitative and qualitative fulfillment of the programs, something which is reflected in the reduction of teachers' absences from work, in the reduction of absences by the pupils and in

the better scientific and methodical preparation of classes, something which is reflected also in the number of students with passing grades and the quality of the education.

Despite the achievements, shortcomings and weaknesses which have been evident in certain subjects and disciplines, it is a positive fact that last year there was an increase in demands on the pupils for the assimilation of knowledge in the programs, but in some cases this has not been seen as united with the increase of demands on the teachers to assume responsibility for every pupil who fails.

The meeting also examined the causes of the shortcomings and weaknesses observed in the schoolwork, and measures were assigned for implementation in the future. First, it was stressed at the meeting, today's requirements from the schools to increase productivity and raise the quality of the teaching-educational work, are closely connected with the ensurance and maintenance of enrollment, with the regular and continuous school attendance of the pipils. Last year, the state and educational organs at the base and the school directorates paid greater attention and demanded greater accountability for the implementation of the educational plan. Nevertheless, the tasks were not fully realized by all the school categories. In the preschool educational level, although 3,000 more children were involved than a year ago, the tasks were nevertheless unfulfilled. Most of the nonfulfillments occurred in the districts of Puke, Tropoje, Mirdite and so forth. The existing capacities are not always and everywhere fully utilized, sometimes there is lack of interest and care for the opening of new nurseries and for the creation of all the necessary conditions which they need as educational institutions. These types of shortcomings, which are entirely subjective in character, have been evident especially in the districts of Mirdite, Mat, Durres, Shkoder and so forth. Good work in this direction has been initiated in Tirana District, which has realized better indicators in the spreading, expansion and quality of educational work.

Nonfulfillments were evident also in the 8-year and middle education without separation from work. In the 8-year schools there have been also dropouts of pupils under 16 in the districts of Tirana, Lushnje, Korce, Durres, Berat and Kruje. Whereas in the middle schools, the largest number of dropouts were observed in the districts of Berat, Fier, Pogradec, Permet, Shkoder and Tropoje. Poor work has been done also for the achievement of the contingent of pupils in the mining schools in Tirana, Pogradec, Kukes and Mirdite. There were more weaknesses and shortcomings especially in 8-year education without separation from work.

The failure to achieve contingents in the various categories of schools shows that small efforts have been made in implementing the law on compulsory 8-year education, the plan discipline has not been made clear to all, it has not been properly understood that without ensuring the contingents and regular and conscientious school attendance by the pupils, one cannot talk about passing and high quality, about productive learning and educational work at school.

The study of the problem of ensuring and maintaining the contingents shows that the school dropouts are those pupils who fail repeatedly and attain the required age during the schoolyear, pupils who are not treated warmly by the teachers and the school administration, who do not receive parental attention, and so forth. Therefore, the causes of dropping out of school are entirely of a pedagogical nature. Consequently, the teachers and the educational organs must concentrate their attention, in particular, on this question, they must be familiar with all cases of school dropouts and thoroughly study well the reasons for each case, by fighting indifference and liberalism which can be noted with regard to this problem. They are typical liberal manifestations which have been noted in some districts, such as in Sarande, Vlore and so forth, where there is ignorance of the situation of dropouts and of the transfer of pupils from school to school and from district to district, and this is not understood as an important task of the schools and of the sections. Investigations have shown that there are pupils who miss school during entire days, but the teachers and the school directorates show no concern over the situation; they do not know the reasons for failure to attend classes and do not take quick measures, within the day, whereas the sections provide small help to the schools, and they even cannot provide concrete data.

In the schools without separation from work, the requirements for the pupils are lower, there is laxness in evaluating the pupils, the cadre who teach in these schools, especially the outside specialists, show indifference toward work, often they are unprepared, are careless in providing the material and laboratory base and do not show the same concern and sense of responsibility as is shown for the school with separation from work. In order to strengthen and consolidate this important link of our educational system, in which more and more workers are being incorporated, it is important to establish a strong discipline so as to accurately implement the teaching programs, the school rules, the instructions and rules issued by the government and the Ministry of Education and Culture, and to prevent what happened in the middle school of Lac in the Kruje District, where serious cases of breaches of laws were found which violate the content and the aim of this important link of our educational system, and lower the moral image of the teacher.

Second, the analysis put the stress on taking measures for the strengthening of the teaching materials base and for the achievement, on time and with good quality, of investments and constructions. In this direction too, there have been continuous improvements. In the middle agricultural schools alone there have been established 483 cabinets for special subjects, and a good part of the schools are carrying out the education with a rich material base. The "Demir Progri" school in Korce, the "Kozma Naska" school in Elbasan, the agricultural schools in Divjake and Koplik, the general middle school of Gramsh, the "Fan Noli" 8-year school in Tirana, are outstanding in this regard.

Nevertheless, it becomes apparent that the situation of enrichment, maintenance and utilization of the educational material base remains unsatisfactory. The investigations carried out by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the districts of Berat, Mirdite, Fier, Sarande, Lezhe, and Durres, reveal a considerable number of misuses.

The meeting broadly examined the increase in the level of training of educational cadres. Improvements in this direction have been made from year to year, but the present and long-term needs necessitate the further increase of the ideo-scientific and pedagogical level of the educational cadres, starting with the nursery educators and up to the teachers in higher education. The tasks laid down by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP for the further development of science and technology, require that along with the general training of the existing cadres, the work for the training of the new cadres be strengthened.

The scientific and pedagogical training of cadres has been put on healthier bases. The commissions of subjects function regularly in schools, in the zones and on the district level, various activities are continually organized with the teachers--seminars, scientific sessions, pedagogical conferences, and so forth. Elbasan, Gjirokaster, Tropoje, Fier, and other districts have had good experience in this work. The general and uniform training of the educational cadres, and the organization of courses with the teachers of some subjects have had a positive impact in raising the ideo-scientific level of the teachers' work. But in the training of cadres there are still weaknesses and manifestations of formalism. It happens that in regard to these problems there is a lack of supervision, analyses and complete studies. This is why in a number of schools in Tepelene, Berat and other districts, the problems of training are not treated with the necessary seriousness. During the analysis, it was stressed that the educational organs and the pedagogical studies in the districts must occupy themselves in the first place with the main links which constitute the basic forms of this training such as individual study, method systems in the lower cycle and the subject commissions on the school, zone and district level, without neglecting the other forms. The principal aim in this work must be the struggle against formalism and against the tendency to be active for the sake of advancement. The entire training work which is carried out at school and outside it, the themes which are treated, and the studies which are completed, should reflect, in the best possible manner, the situation of the school, should clearly provide a progressive example and pave the way for its implementation in practice. The training work, in the final analysis, should be measured by the qualitative changes which it introduces in the process of education and in the education of the young generation.

In conclusion, the analysis dwelt with the further improvement of the method and style of work of the educational organs. Quite a few educational sections, such as those in Elbasan, Durres, Lushnje, Gjirokaster and so forth, are ensuring a better scientific management of the problems, are raising the level of quality of the investigations, are making efforts to solve the issues on study bases. But this is not taking place everywhere. Shortcomings are to be found especially in the directives, decisions and guidances. Some sections, such as those in Berat, Mirdite and so forth, limit themselves to drafting work programs, assigning some measures, and delegating some tasks to the managements of schools, and with that they consider their task accomplished.

An important task of the educational and cultural sections is the raising of the level and quality of state control and its coordination with worker and peasant control. In this direction there have been improvements, but in some districts, such as Vlore, Sarande, Lezhe, Shkoder and so forth, control continues to remain weak. Also, in some districts, the situation of schools is still not known well, the necessary, real and complete information is not provided by the schools.

The scientific management of educational problems, it was said in the analysis, requires scientific studies which must guide the sections on the basis of careful observation of the situation in the school, by drawing conclusions and by assigning concrete measures and ways to solve the important problems which concern education in the district. In order to execute the tasks qualitatively, a close cooperation is required at the same time with the various sections of the executive committees of the district people's councils, with the mass organizations, with the economic organs and with the military units under the leadership of the party organizations.

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FINANCE MINISTER ADDRESSES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU241842 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Dec 80 p 3

["Text" of report by Belcho Belchev, Bulgarian minister of finance, on the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, read on 16 December at the 15th session of the seventh National Assembly in Sofia]

[Text] Comrades, people's representatives, the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, submitted by the government for review and approval by the National Assembly, is the budget for the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period.

The year 1981 is expected with excitement, and greeted with working enthusiasm by the entire Bulgarian people as a year in which the BCP will hold its 12th Congress. As at every other party congress, at the 12th Congress the party will again outline the concrete program for the construction of the developed socialist society during the next period, and will define the goals and tasks of socioeconomic development.

This is a year which will mark the 25th anniversary of the historic April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. During the year we will evaluate the fruitful April line, which has contributed so much to developing socialist production relations, constructing the material basis of socialism, increasing the material and spiritual standard of the Bulgarian people and increasing the international prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During 1981 we will also mark the 1,300th anniversary of founding the Bulgarian state.

These major historic events will give new impetus to our diligent people's creative activity, will mobilize their efforts for implementing and overfulfilling the requirements of the plan and the budget, and will allow us to take a new step toward further building the developed socialist society.

The successful implementation of the 1980 uniform plan on socioeconomic development of the country is a good basis for implementing these requirements. We are witnesses and participants in the implementation of a great creative and practical activity, performed under the leadership of the BCP and its central committee led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, after the 11th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference.

New capacities in chemistry, power supply and machine building were commissioned during this period. The production of material goods increased. Great efforts were made in applying the system of managing the national economy in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach. New forms of regulating the reproduction process in the individual economic units and the entire country were worked out. As a result of these creative efforts and regardless of the complex international situation and natural disasters which inflicted us, the necessary material and financial resources for socioeconomic development, as well as for the constant increase of the people's standard of living, were secured.

During these years, the state successfully fulfilled its functions as regulator of the distribution of the revenues of the economic organizations and society, and provided the necessary resources for conducting the party socioeconomic policy.

Our party's strategic course on increasing quality and effectiveness was a leading postulate in preparing the 1981 state draft budget. The direct basis of its preparation were the decisions of the National Party Conference, and the BCP Central Committee March 1979, July 1980 and November 1980 Plenums. The instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and especially his postulates on the global directions in developing the country during the present stage of building the developed socialist society, have exceptional significance. The 1981 state draft budget has been prepared in accordance with the indicies of the uniform draft plan on the country's socioeconomic development.

The 1981 state budget retains its significance as the country's basic financial plan. It secures the means of financing sociocultural enterprises and the country's management. Simultaneously, the budget implements significant predistribution processes of revenues among the branches in the area of material production. The means received from some branches of the national economy are directed to a large degree toward financing the current reproduction process and investments in other branches.

The preparation of the budget was done in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach in management of the national economy, and the application of the economic mechanism.

The draft budget plans revenues of 15,385 million leva, and expenditures of 15,370 million leva. A 15 million leva excess of revenues over expenditures has been secured. The necessary means for the government's reserve fund have also been secured.

The 1981 state budget has all the characteristics of a socialist budget.

What is characteristic for revenues is that they will predominantly come from the profits of the economic and other socialist organizations. The revenue from deductions for social security and other sources also increase. This revenue is almost 91 percent of the total amount of the budget's revenue.

In expenditures, the largest amount--5,312 million leva--will be used for socioeconomic enterprises. The allocation of such substantial expenditures for the social consumption funds is an expression of the party policy of further satisfying the

people's sociocultural needs. The expenditures for financing development of the national economy are also substantial.

Revenue

The basic part of the state budget is payments from profits.

During 1981, the economic organizations will pay 7,064 million leva to the budget, 4,742 million leva of which will come from profits from the production and sale of consumer goods in the form of turnover tax, and 2,322 million leva from normative payments for regulating the total revenue.

The payments from profits in the form of turnover tax is a revenue source which is especially important in its scope and character. These payments are regular and secure almost 31 percent of the budget revenues. Therefore these payments have exceptional significance for the budget's operational implementation. Their amount depends directly on the volume, quality and assortment of consumer goods, and the everyday services rendered to the population.

The BCP and the government attribute special significance and devote great care to better supplying the market with goods and improving the everyday services to the population.

The necessary conditions and preconditions related to the country's socioeconomic development plan, aimed at expanding the production of such goods and rendering such services, have been created. Simultaneously, one must stress that some weaknesses are still allowed in securing the necessary commodity funds. Some economic organizations-producers do not fulfill their contracted obligations and do not supply or supply with a delay to the trade organizations the contracted goods according to their quality, quantity and assortment.

The removal of these weaknesses depends especially on the economic organizations-producers and the trade organizations. Together they must study the consumers' market with a view to better satisfying it. Thus the market will have commodity funds which will correspond to the consumers' needs and the populations' income. Securing such correspondence has exceptional importance for further strengthening the leva, and the normal formation of one of the most important proportions in socialist society: commodity funds vs. financial income. Therefore during 1981 we must search for additional reserves for increasing the volume of production of goods and increasing services. Thus the socialist society's income will also increase.

The normative payments for regulating the total income are in second place in their significance and importance as revenues of the state budget. They will be entered in the budget according to the consolidated principles for forming and distributing the economic organizations' income.

In accordance with the requirements of the economic approach, the normative payments create the possibility of even better applying the principle of unity of direction in the interests of the separate collectives and society. The regulation of the total income through normative payments to the budget creates the possibility of

keeping a significant part of the profit in the economic organizations, which could then use them for expanded reproduction.

The scope of this part of profit depends on the effectiveness of economic activity. The more effective this activity is, the better will be the possibility for economic organizations to increase their income. A part of the larger profit realized will be utilized by the entire society; and vice versa, when the tasks set by the plan are not being implemented, society will suffer losses. However, the lower effectiveness of activity will prompt substantial sanctions against the economic organizations. Reaching the envisaged effectiveness is connected with securing the necessary resources for forming the wage fund and means for its payment. Therefore, the economic and effective utilization of the material and labor resources, the accelerated introduction of the most recent achievements of science and the technological progress, the quality of production, accelerating its placement and financing, as well as all other factors related to increasing profitability, have great significance for forming the wage fund.

The state security revenue for 1981 will amount to 2,992 million leva. They will completely secure the means for pensions, aid, children's benefits, recreation and so forth.

It has been planned that 1,350 million leva from taxes, fees and other payments on the part of the population will be entered in the budget. This amount is almost 8 percent of the total revenue of the state's centralized monetary fund. The relative part from the population's income is decreasing annually. This is yet another confirmation of the observance and consolidation of the principles on the basis of which the socialist budget is prepared, and an expression of the party's consistent policy on decreasing taxes on the population's income from labor. It characterizes the ever growing effectiveness of the national economy, whose revenue is sufficient for securing the basic part of the financial resources of the state's multisided activity.

Expenditures

The predominant part of expenditures, almost 85.5 percent of the 1981 state draft budget are aimed at financing the national economy and the sociocultural enterprises. This use of expenditures characterizes our socialist budget as the financial basis for implementing the economic and sociocultural policy of the party and state.

The means allocated for the national economy will be used to finance capital investments and basic overhaul, rendering temporary financial aid to some economic organizations to purchase agrarian production and to cover production of low-profitability or unprofitable articles, developing the municipal economy of populated areas, and so forth. During 1981, the state will allocate the substantial sum of 400 million leva to additionally stimulating agrarian production. The new purchase prices create conditions for highly profitable plant growing and stock breeding.

Consolidating the economic approach in management of the economic organizations is directly connected with better applying cost accounting. The economic organizations are conducting their activity and financing expanded reproduction with their own means and bank credits. They form their own financial basis for expanded

reproduction mainly from the profit which remains at their disposal, the allocations for amortization, restoration and overhaul, monetary funds' means, and some other sources.

When the economic organizations are unable to realize sufficient profit because of lower prices than the planned production expenditures, approved by the state plan, the budget will render temporary financial assistance. The allocation of such assistance will be done on the basis of previously determined norms for bonuses or increase in the articles' price. This system of distributing bonuses and price increases corresponds to the requirements of cost accounting. In addition, the bonuses will have a temporary character, and their amount will be reviewed annually with the view of decreasing them. In this manner the economic organizations will be compelled to decrease their production expenses through economic means.

The decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the basic trends of the March 1977 BCP Central Committee on further developing and perfecting the territorial and conurbation systems' organizations, created conditions for the accelerated solution of the housing problem. Appropriate programs for implementing these decisions during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period are successfully being implemented, and tens of thousands of families annually receive new apartments. A program on complex housing construction during the Eighth 5-Year Plan was prepared and approved in order to quickly solve this problem.

In accordance with the goals and tasks of the program, the budget allocation for housing construction in 1981 increases by 140 million leva in comparison with 1980. These means, as well as the means of the economic organizations, the citizens and the credits allocated by the state savings bank will reach 992 million leva, and thus secure the financial resources necessary for the construction of apartments envisaged by the 1981 plan on the country's socioeconomic development. It is necessary to devote particularly attention to limiting the duration of the investment cycle and accelerating housing construction.

The budget secures the necessary means for financing capital investments for further expanding the material basis of education, health protection, culture, urbanization and so forth, which will facilitate increasing the level of services rendered to the population and the satisfaction of its cultural needs.

Capital investments in the area of material production are aimed mainly at perfecting and modernizing the existing basic funds. Financing capital investments will be implemented in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach and total self-sufficiency. While implementing the investment process in the area of material production, the main direction must be toward concentrating the forces and means for timely commissioning the projects, reaching the planned capacities in the determined time, and decreasing the amount of incomplete construction.

The tasks and role of the Bulgarian People's Bank increase in connection with increasing the effectiveness of capital investments. Through an economic method and by its specific means, the bank must influence economic organizations to implement this especially important task.

Some capital investments in the area of material production, which have a special significance for further developing the national economy, such as in energy supply, geological research work, metallurgy, machine building, the state highway system and others, will be financed by the state's centralized means.

The public consumption funds have exceptional significance for developing the socialist worker, increasing his education and qualification, strengthening his health and increasing his cultural level. The constant development of these factors and increasing their social effectiveness are an important condition for achieving higher social productivity of labor.

Some 1,284.6 million leva are allocated for financing education. These means correspond with the tasks of the nationwide plan on implementing the theses on developing education in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, worked out by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Some 260 million leva of the budget are allocated for preschool education and training. They will be used for creating the necessary pedagogic and material-technical conditions for 6-year old children, who will enter first grade. The largest part of the means allocated to education are expenditures for the uniform politechnical high schools in their various forms. Along with the means for interschool for education in production, dormitories and boarding houses, extraschool establishments and others, the total amount of expenditures for the uniform politechnical high schools is 501 million leva. The amount of 109.9 million leva has been allocated for higher and semi-higher educational establishments, and 197.8 million leva for the professional schools, including the medical high schools and the art high schools.

The basic principles of socialist health protection in free, accessible and highly qualified health services for the population are really expressed by the amount of 886.5 million leva allocated by the 1981 state draft budget for financing health protection. The basic part of this amount, 495 million leva, will be used for maintaining hospitals. These means also secure improving the supply of medicines to the hospitals, something which will ensure faster and more efficient treatment of the sick. Some 91 million leva will be allocated for polyclinics, including the rural health services. It is necessary that the health workers increase the effectiveness of the general and specific preventatives and decrease loss of work time due to incapacity, and thus improve the utilization of free time. The good organization of leisure and treatment of the working people at the health resorts, as well as the broad development of physical culture, sports and tourism and to collaborate in the same direction. Some 64 million leva have been allocated for this purpose.

The expenditures for maintaining dispenseries, preventative clinics, kindergartens and other health enterprises will increase. The significant means allocated by the budget for developing health protection require taking new and additional measures for increasing the effectiveness of their use. The question is not just increasingly the needs up to the necessary and required social level, but simultaneously to increase the society's vital forces. The effect of improving work in this direction has an underlying socioeconomic character, and has decisive significance in quickly increasing the social productivity of labor.

Expenditures for financing culture, without activities financed by cost accounting, amount to 255 million leva. These means cover not only expenditures connected with further developing activity of the creative intelligentsia and the development of arts, cultural-educational institutes, museums, libraries and reading rooms, but also planned domestic and international cultural events related to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

The role of Bulgarian science during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, which will be a period of scientific-technological progress, is exceptionally important and responsible. During the next 5-year plan period, through scientific-technological progress, an accelerated and effective introduction of the newest achievements of science is to be secured, as well as increasing the technological level of production, increasing production quality, increasing the competitiveness of our production on international markets, and reaching the relevant achievements of the most advanced countries. These tasks predetermine the amount of the expenditures planned by the budget and other resources in financing scientific research and engineer-innovative activities. For this purpose, the 1981 budget allocates 127 million leva, while the total amount of expenditures will reach 556 million leva. The significant and relative share of the economic organization's sources of financing scientific research and engineer-innovative activities depends on application of the new economic mechanism in this area of activity. We can justifiably expect that when such a substantial amount has been all ated, scientific workers will make their contribution to the intellectualization of labor, increasing labor productivity and increasing the national income.

The BCP and the socialist state's care for children, the elderly and those who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated is well known. The measures taken in this area in recent years, and corresponding to the December 1972 program, made our country one of the leaders in the world in this. A real expression of this attitude is the great amount which is annually allocated by the state budget for social security. In 1981 these means will amount to 2,759 million leva, or 52 percent of the total amount allocated for sociocultural enterprises. The basic part of this amount--1,815 million leva--has been allocated for various kinds of pensions. Expenditures for pensions increase not only because of the demographic factor, and the fact that the generations born immediately after World War I are entering retirement age, but also because of the lasting tendency to increase the average pension.

Expenditures for various kinds of assistance preserve their exceptionally high level reached during the current years. Some 679 million leva have been allocated for children benefits alone. The necessary means for paying various compensation connected with the short-term insurance of the workers and employees, according to the labor codex, have also been allocated.

Expenditures for maintaining the organs of the state government and management, the courts and public prosecutor offices, allocated for 1981, amount to 262 million leva. These expenditures correspond to the measures taken by the government on decreasing expenses connected with maintaining the administrative organs and limiting the increase of administrative staff.

The state draft budget allocates the necessary means for the country's defense and security.

Comrades, people's representatives, the total volume of the state budget's revenues and expenditures also includes the budgets of the Okrug and municipal people's councils, as well as the budgets of the city administrative organs. They have been incorporated in the law according to the Okrugs to which they belong, and amount to 2,944 million leva.

The predominant part of expenditures--1,728 million leva--have been allocated for financing the sociocultural enterprises. A significant part of the budget's expenditures and the capital investments have been granted to the people's councils. The budgets of the people's councils also allocate the necessary means for developing the municipal economy and urbanization.

The requirements for effectively utilizing the national economic means must be followed while allocating means to the people's councils. These means should be directed to such enterprises which can secure the best economic and socioeconomic results. Special attention should be paid to solving the problem of better satisfying the population's need for everyday services. This problem is especially important and its solution depends mainly on the efforts and determination of the relevant people's councils. This problem must be solved according to local conditions and the population's needs for everyday services, and by attracting young people as well as qualified artisans-pensioners and workers to this area.

The organization of the revenues of the people's councils' budgets creates conditions for increasing their interest in effectively developing economy and increasing their financial independence. The basic part of revenues of the people's councils' budgets comes from the economic organizations in their territory. In addition to local taxes and fees, the people's councils get their revenues from payments made by their own plants, as well as from allocations from the general income of the economic organizations and departments for developing territorial units. The great significance of the income from economic organizations for the budget of the conurbation systems, must compell the local organs of government to change their attitude toward the economic organizations' problems, and to devote greater care to fulfilling and overfulfilling the economic organizations' plans.

According to the law on preparing and implementing the state budget, the National Assembly must approve the implementation of the 1979 budget. In connection with this, the draft law which had been given to you, includes the amounts related to implementing the 1979 budget. The total amount of revenue reached 11,171.9 million leva, and expenditures--11,057.7 million leva, which means that revenue surpassed the expenditures by 96.2 million leva.

These results were reached thanks to the measures taken by the party and government on limiting some expenditures and the efforts made by the working collectives for increasing the social productivity of labor.

The implementation of the 1980 budget is taking place within the framework of the total amount of revenues and expenditures approved by the National Assembly.

Comrades, people's representatives, while preparing the 1981 state budget, we have mobilized the existing reserves of the national economy as well as the reserves of the individual economic organizations.

It is necessary that after adopting the plan on the country's socioeconomic development and the 1981 budget, all organs and organizations take measures and steps for maximally and effectively utilizing material and working resources, and increasing the social productivity of labor and the social effectiveness of public consumption funds.

As I have already pointed out, the basic source of the budget is the payments which will be made by the economic organizations. In order to realize these revenues, it is necessary to most strictly observe the party requirements for high effectiveness in all economic branches and organizations. The new attitude toward planning and the new economic mechanism gave the economic organizations great rights and possibilities for maneuvering with the financial resources. Simultaneously, the obligations of the economic organizations toward society increased. It is necessary to constantly improve the organization of economic and financial activity through strictly observing working, technological, planning and financial discipline, and effectively utilizing the basic production funds, raw materials, materials, fuel, energy and labor. Thus the necessary resources for implementing the tasks set for them will be secured.

On behalf of the government, I ask you, esteemed comrades people's representatives, to please approve the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the report on implementation of the 1979 state budget.

CSO: 2200

TRADE UNION CALLS FOR CLOSER COOPERATION WITH PARTY

Prague PRACE in Czech 31 Oct 80 p 3

[Article: "Main Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement During the Period of Preparations for the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia--Decisions of the 10th Plenary Meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] On 28 and 29 October 1980 the Central Council of Trade Unions discussed the main tasks facing the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] during the period of the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress. The decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee served as the basis for the discussion.

The preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress provided an incentive for the ROH to intensify efforts aimed at the fulfillment of the goals of the program articulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress in the socio-economic area as well as in other sectors of our social life.

Our working people's profound interest in, and full support of the decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the convocation of the party's 16th Congress obligate our trade union organs and organizations to adopt this particular approach.

Our working people appreciate the fact that they may develop their constructive efforts in building an advanced socialist society because of the prudent and farsighted CPCZ policy, the alliance with the USSR and with other countries of the socialist community, and their peaceful effort even under complex external and more demanding internal conditions.

For that reason the ROH has focused all its efforts on converting into reality the goals of the party's policy. The past period has shown once again that this orientation is correct because it makes it possible to fulfill in a creative way the basic functions of the ROH in all their complexity and correlation, and to intensify the unity of the ROH, its place in the political system of our socialist society, and the confidence of the workers and other working people in their united trade organization.

We appreciate very much the concern and attention the CPCZ pays trade unions. At the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak, its general secretary, spoke about the principled and irreplaceable task of the ROH in promoting the rights and interests of our working people, in resolving society-wide tasks, in making decisions on all problems concerning the socioeconomic development, in intensifying the efficiency and quality of work, and his words mean great appreciation as well as obligation for us.

In agreement with the decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] requested organizations and organs of the ROH that during the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress they focus their activity on the following main tasks:

1. To acquaint all working people with the results and decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the 10th plenary meeting of the URO, and to engage them in their actual fulfillment within each basic organization of the ROH. For that purpose to take advantage of membership meetings, consultations on production and other assemblies of our working people.

To increase the efficiency of mass political and educational work performed by trade unions. To focus their center of gravity on plants and work teams. To subordinate the contents and forms of that work so as to intensify our working people's socialist consciousness, and to foster their political, moral and professional growth. To expand our working people's awareness that they are responsible for the solution of all vital tasks and for the use if funds invested in the production for the purpose of increasing the wealth of our society and the material and cultural standards of our people. To pay attention to education every day and to expand the knowledge and the level of the executive aktiv. To place there more emphasis on clarification of international correlations in building a developed socialist society in our own country while consolidating the socialist community and implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism.

2. To strive to make the period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress noteworthy for the development of socialist competition, in particular in the form of specific personal and collective pledges in honor of the 16th Congress. To support and develop effective forms of initiative and activities of workers, technicians and other working people and of entire teams in order to upgrade social productivity of labor, to apply science and technology to practical use, to introduce new technologies and progressive organization of labor, to raise the technical standard and quality of production, to improve the exploitation of fuels, energy, raw materials and resources, to meet export tasks and deliveries for our domestic market, to fulfill capital investment projects and to make better use of production capacities and working time.

Before the 16th CPCZ Congress, ROH plant committees will organize, in cooperation with the economic management, public assessment and review of socialist pledges made in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

They will call every worker to full responsibility for the assignment entrusted to him, and discuss with leading workers shortcomings detected in the management

and organization of labor, and consistently demand that the deficiencies be remedied and avoided. They will make full use of suggestions, incentives and proposals of the working people, and see to it that such proposals serve as a springboard for further improvement of quality in the process of production and of organizational and managing work.

3. To step up the collective effort for the fulfillment of our national economic plan for 1980 as the basic precondition for an unhindered advance and steady fulfillment of the tasks planned for the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. No needless shortfalls in production will be allowed to affect negatively the beginning of fulfillment of the plan for next year.

To fulfill consistently and thoroughly the plans of activity of basic ROH organizations for 1980, which reflect distinctly intensified specific contribution of trade unions toward the fulfillment of the socioeconomic program of the 15th CPCZ Congress. To endeavor to fulfill all pledges stemming from the collective contract for the trade union organization and management.

4. To create in enterprises, plants and institutions preconditions necessary for successful implementation of the plan for the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. To involve trade union organizations more vigorously in the fulfillment of national economic directives for the creation of the plan for 1981. To oppose vehemently promotion of narrow interests of the enterprise over societywide interests. To involve our working people in the management of production, and together with the economic administration in plants, enterprises and economic production units, to organize discussions of tasks in all workers' teams, and to implement gradually the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980.

To expand the influence of trade unions on the enforcement of the criteria of merit and justified differentiation of wages according to demonstrable achievements of labor. To involve the widest possible trade union aktiv in determinate improvement of wage policies and in the struggle against violations of wage principles. To inform our working people about the substance of the new regulations concerning rewards, about their assigned work, and the opportunities to obtain more funds for wages by exposing untapped resources, saving work force and raising the productivity of labor.

In accordance with the principles stipulated by the CSSR government and by the URO, to draft proposals for new collective contracts, particularly those for plants and enterprises, and to submit them for approval at membership meetings or ROH conferences no later than 15 February 1981.

To participate in drafting the five-year and annual operational plans for the cadre, personal and social development, and to project their implementation in the five-year collective contracts for individuals sectors and enterprises.

5. To be concerned in the development of production and at the same time, to continue endeavors to improve the working and living environment in order to create necessary conditions for every place of work to fulfill consistently its economic

and social plans. In honor of the 16th Congress and of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the CPCZ, to concentrate as much as possible on the program "Trade Union Members for Their Plants and for the Republic" which in 1981 will involve 35 million hours of voluntary work by teams of ROH members. To focus, in cooperation with national committees, on expanding the capacities of facilities for preschool children, to organize dependable transportation to work, and to adjust schedules for stores and in service facilities according to the needs of our working people.

6. To enforce more vigorously implementation of decisions of the 7th plenary meeting of the URO in order to render the political organizational program of the ROH more efficient. To implement in their spirit the style and methods of work enabling collective fulfillment of tasks, to improve the efficiency of the work performed by teams in plants and in places of work, and to upgrade the resourcefulness of trade union organizations. To improve the managing and organizational work of plant committees in basic organizations and to advance consolidation and intensification of the work of trade union chapters. To improve the quality of cooperation of plant and shop committees with their officials, particularly with area trustees.

To continue upgrading the level of planning and agenda for ROH membership meetings and consultations on production, so that the working people be able to participate directly and immediately in the management of production.

Pursuant to the law on the status of plant committees of the ROH, to intensify the cooperation and collaboration of plant and shop committees and of area trustees with appropriate economic organs in fulfilling the economic plant of the organization, in promoting the welfare of the working people, and in improving the discipline of work and technology.

The 10th plenary meeting of the URO appeals to all members of our trade unions and to all working people that they demonstrate again by their socialist involvement and by their creative efforts that the ROH is the mainstay of the CPCZ in building a developed socialist society. It expects that the decisions of the 10th plenary meeting of the URO will be reflected in the plans of the basic ROH organizations and organs. Let us do our best to make the period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress a period of further initiatives and of dedicated work for the entire ROH.

All efforts of the trade union members must be focused on a successful 16th CPCZ Congress--in the interest of a happy life of our workers and of all our working people!

9004
CSO: 2400

IPW DIRECTOR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF STRATEGIC BALANCE

'Insane Strategy,' Important Initiatives

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 17 Oct 80 p 7

/Interview by Hans Kramer with Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics, East Berlin: "Military-Strategic Balance Helps Secure Peace--Nuclear War Strategists in Pentagon and NATO Gamble With Security of Nations." Some of Professor Schmidt's answers draw heavily on an article he has written for his institute's monthly journal. A translation of this article follows this interview/

/Text/ Biographic Sketch

Prof Dr Max Schmidt was born on 6 January 1932 into a working-class family. He has taught at the Edwin Hoernle civil service academy in Weimar. After completion of his studies, he held a research post at the GDR academy for political science and jurisprudence. He then graduated from the SED central committee's institute for the social sciences. After working for the SED central committee for several years, he was named director of the institue for international politics and economics and head of the research council into questions of imperialism in 1973. On a number of previous occasions Prof Schmidt has commented on topical world affairs issues in the pages of TRIBUENE.

/Question/ The resolutions and propoals put forward by the member states of the Warsaw Pact such as the declaration of last May and the foreign policy goals of our own GDR have all underscored the objective and urgent necessity for progress in military detente time and again. What are the reasons for that ?

/Answer/ As everyone can see, the world situation has become a good deal more aggravated in the eighties. The results of the process of political detente which were of value to all peoples, particularly to those in Europe, in the seventies are now in danger. Instead of taking steps to relax tensions, the leading circles of the United States and of NATO are now pursuing a policy of confrontation. They are stepping up the arms race and intensifying the conceptual and material preparations for war. The conduct of the arms limitation talks is being undermined and SALT II, a treaty so very important for peace is not going into effect as a result of its ratification being blocked in the United States.

At the same time, development, production and deployment of new nuclear and "conventional" weapons of mass destruction are being forcefully pursued by NATO on the basis of its 1978 long-range program and its December 1979 resolution.

The efforts by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to do away with the existing balance of power and to establish military superiority by engaging in greatly stepped-up arms programs is casting a kind of pall over the international arena.

In view of this, continuation of detente tied to disarmament is and will remain the cardinal question for the eighties, as Erich Honecker has recently stressed once again.

/Question/ You have spoken of military balance of power. What exactly is meant by this ?

/Answer/ The concept of military-strategic balance of power as a pre-condition for peace is something relatively new. It was first used deliberately by the socialist countries who look upon it as one of the bases and as the guarantee for peaceful coexistence between countries with different economic systems. It involves the recognition of the fact that approximate parity in military strength between the USSR and the United States and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has been reached as a result of a lengthy process.

And it also involves recognition of the fact that given present power relationships in the international class struggle this military-strategic balance must serve as the basis for reaching agreement on limiting, restricting and at length reducing armaments while preserving intact the security of all participants.

/Question/ Could one say that there now is approximate military-strategic balance between the two power blocs ?

[Answer] Yes. The member countries of the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly pointed out that there now is military balance in Europe and in the world as a whole. This assessment is based on an analysis of all the factors which need to be taken into account, including an overall comparison of nuclear and conventional weapons systems, their number and firepower, of troop strengths and of the strategic situation.

Geographic, logistic and economic factors must also be considered. To be sure, the military power relationship is extremely difficult to assess. But one must make a realistic start on the basis of the sum total of opposing military forces. Up until recently, members of the U.S. government and of other NATO countries have more than once attested to the fact that approximate parity exists as between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. This was underlined in particular by the American President on the occasion of the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna in June 1979. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and other West European political leaders have also called attention to the existence of approximate parity.

[Question] What significance is there to the existence of military balance ?

[Answer] The evolution, the existence, operation amd maintenance of approximate military-strategic balance between the main forces of the two different social systems in the world and of the countries allied with them is an important pre-condition for the preservation and the strengthening of peace.

This has been a decisive factor in starting on the road to political detente based on the efforts of the socialist countries and the position taken by realistic forces in the western world; a process which has been of political and economic benefit to all concerned and has opened up new vistas.

It has been a major element in thus far being able to prevent the outbreak of a third world war which is to say a war involving missiles and nuclear weapons.

It has been the principal factor for Europe, which twice has been the starting point of a world war,now experiencing the longest period of peace in this century and for the continent itself emerging as an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

It has provided the very basis on which successful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament can be conducted, as SALT I and SALT II clearly demonstrate.

/Question/ You have spoken of the recognition of military balance on the part of Western politicians. But what is their real attitude towards it ?

/Answer/ I have already indicated by my answer to your first question that the efforts by the United States and NATO to do away with balance and to establish military superiority are the main causes for the aggravation and complication of the world situation.

/Question/ What are the indications for this ?

/Answer/ It cannot be overlooked that there has been a growing trend recently of members of Western governments and Western military figures --above all in the United States-- calling for making war or at least the use of military power in the service of political goals and based on superiority more practicable or efficaceous. The so-called State of the Union message by the American President in January 1980 designated the strengthening of American military power and the attainment of military superiority as the priority goal of the United States in the eighties.

/Question/ In this connection, how is the American President's so-called directive 59 to be viewed ?

/Answer/ This directive contains a new definition of U.S. strategy for nuclear warfare. The targets of U.S. nuclear missiles are to be varied and to be concentrated primarily on a wide range of military objectives in the USSR. In essence, this re-definition is aimed at lowering the nuclear threshold in order to carry out a preventive nuclear strike to annihilate the USSR and to be in a position to wage "limited" nuclear war.

This insane strategy is not really new. In fact, it has always gone hand-in-hand with the aims of aggressive circles in the United States wishing to confront the Soviet Union from a position of strength and superiority. But the attainment of strategic parity by the Soviet Union and the inability of the United States to carry out a devastating first strike forced American governments to recognize this parity, as evidenced among other things by the SALT agreements.

Now, the goal of overcoming military-strategic balance is openly being pursued again. In doing so, the United States are speculating on the qualitative and quantitative development of new weapons systems which are to provide a new material basis for their efforts aimed at attaining military superiority, primarily as regards a nuclear first strike capability.

They are hoping for greater accuracy, greater explosive yield and a high level of mobility for the MX and Trident missile systems among others.

/Question/ How does the NATO missile resolution of December 1979 fit in ?

/Answer/ It is absolutely correct to view this resolution in connection with U.S. nuclear strategy. In addition to the 8,000 nuclear units already positioned in Western Europe and the 3,000 nuclear delivery systems and the 1,000 delivery systems on board of warships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, that is to say in addition to the so-called Forward Based Systems, plans are to deploy Pershing II's and Cruise missiles with a range of 1,800 to 2,500 kilometers. Their multiple warheads, more accurate and harder to defend against, could hit different targets simultaneously. Early warning time for these medium-range missiles is reduced to about 6 minutes as opposed to 30 minutes for strategic missiles. Thus, it is not a matter of "simply modernizing" obsolete weapons, as it is said, which have the same purpose as heretofore, but of introducing strategic weapons which would reach from West European soil far into Soviet territory up to the foothills of the Urals. The NATO decision thus has the aim of bringing about a fundamental change in the European strategic situation.

/Question/ What dangers are there, in your view, in this militant concept for nuclear war ?

/Answer/ First of all, this strategy does not aim for reducing nuclear war but for materially preparing for it. As this is being done, the insane idea is being put forward that limited nuclear war can both be waged and won. But it is totally unrealistic to believe in the possibility of a limited or regional nuclear war. Any nuclear attack would inevitably lead to a direct confrontation including retaliatory strikes forthwith.

/Question/ What implications does this have for Europe ?

/Answer/ As a consequence of the NATO missile resolution, the danger of atomic conflict, particularly in Europe, has increased. The deployment of new medium-range missile systems in Western Europe within the context of the new U.S. strategy turns these countries into atomic hostages of the United States to all intents and purposes. While the United States mean to use these additional missile systems to gain substantial military advantages as regards the USSR, the nations of Western Europe for their part are called upon to bear the "nuclear risk." The arms race is further intensified.

/Question/ And what does it mean for the socialist countries ?

/Answer/ In view of the acute threat, the socialist countries will have to provide the necessary measure of military security for themselves. History has proven that the socialist states, headed by the USSR, have all the means necessary to meet the efforts of the NATO countries to upset the military balance.

/Question/ You are now touching on our own position. Could you be more precise ?

/Answer/ Let me summarize it briefly: the socialist states do not aim for military superiority or for altering the strategic-military balance in their favor which has evolved in the course of time. This applies equally to the strategic balance that exists between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO in the European area.

"Our efforts," Leonid Brezhnev has said, "are directed at not having a first or a second strike happen or, for that matter, any nuclear war at all. Our approach to this question is the following: the defense capabilities of the Soviet Union must be such that no one will dare disturb our peaceful life. Our policy does not aim at superiority in armaments but at their reduction and at a reduction of military confrontation."

This position also was part of the Warsaw Pact declaration of last May and was the basis of concrete initiatives undertaken by the socialist states at the the 35th General Assembly of the United Nations, at MBFR in Vienna and in other forums.

/Question/ Which of these initiatives are most important ?

/Answer/ The primary objective of all our efforts and proposals is to take further steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war. At the current U.N. General Assembly session, the USSR has countered the American nuclear war concept by submitting a list of the most urgent measures aimed at reducing the danger of war. It calls first of all for the ratification of SALT II by the United States; it calls for a start of negotiations on medium-range missiles; for tangible results at the Vienna talks and in connection with the Madrid conference and for the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. There are concrete proposals on all these matters on the table.

Let me point out the special importance of the USSR initiative aimed at overcoming the impasse in medium-range nuclear weapons negotiations created by the NATO resolution of December 1979.

There is a need for negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe-- even prior to the ratification of SALT II which, as is well known, has thus far been thwarted by the United States.

There is a need to establish an organic link between these negotiations and the problems raised by the so-called "forward based" American nuclear weapons. If any arms limitation agreements are reached in these talks, they could be taken up after SALT II has been ratified.

Erich Honecker has said that these proposals are important because "they serve to overcome the impasse in the disarmament dialogue created by NATO missile resolution adopted in Brussels."

[Question] What role do you see labor unions playing in this endeavor?

[Answer] Ever since the Stockholm appeal in 1950 to the success of which the WFTU made a great contribution, as is well known, the unofficial organizations have grown rapidly in significance-- the way-stations being their fight against the neutron bomb over the past few years; their support for the holding of a European security conference and their active role at the U.N. special session on disarmament. The international trade union movement has had a large share in this. After all, it is the working class which plays the largest part in the worldwide efforts for peace and detente. Just the same, the recent meeting of the WFTU general council and of the WPC have both shown that more strenuous efforts must be made to combat the arms race and the danger of war.

"It is not enough to be shocked! Nor is it enough to be worried! The peoples have the power to safeguard peace which is their birthright! The time to act is now!" This Sofia appeal of the WPC is addressed to us as unionists, too.

Need for Continued Dialogue

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 9 No 10, Oct 80 pp 1-9

[Analyses-Problems' feature article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics, East Berlin: "Military-Strategic Balance, Political and Military Detente: U.S. Nuclear War Strategy Aims at Military Superiority-- Safeguarding Peace Requires Balance of Forces--Arms Limitation and Disarmament Versus Concept of Nuclear First Strike"]

/Text/ The start of the eighties has witnessed a marked aggravation of the world situation. The results of the process of political detente which benefited all peoples, particularly those in Europe, in the seventies are now endangered. Instead of taking steps toward detente, the ruling circles of the United States and of NATO are now pursuing a policy of confrontation. The system of international relations is being strained to the utmost by the discrepancy between the readiness to agree to arms limitation and disarmament manifested in numerous declarations and treaty documents and the heightened activity on the part of the leading NATO countries which points in the opposite direction, heating up the arms race further and intensifying conceptual and material preparations for war.

The chances of success of the arms limitation negotiations are being undermined; the SALT II treaty cannot take effect, as important as it is to peace, because its ratification is being blocked in the United States and all this while the development, production and deployment of new nuclear and conventional weapons of mass destruction by NATO is proceeding apace on the basis of its long-range program of 1978 and the December resolution of 1979.

Balance of Power, Equal Security, Peaceful Coexistence

The most aggressive forces of imperialism are mounting a vastly stepped-up arms program in an attempt to do away with the existing balance of power and to achieve military superiority while refusing to supplement political detente with military detente. This has cast a kind of pall over the international arena. Safeguarding peace has thus become the cardinal issue of our time, as Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED central committee, has said. "We must continue to work for detente in the eighties, tying it to an orientation toward disarmament."[1]

This calls for building on the foundations laid for the benefit of mankind in the seventies but which certain imperialist circles do not seem able to accept. Developments during that time had created a world situation which opened up favorable opportunities in the fight for peace. Peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems was beginning to take concrete political and economic shape. Multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements proved their usefulness in improving international relations. An important factor has been and still is the evolution, the existence, operation and maintenance of an approximate military-strategic balance between the main forces of the two different social systems and of the countries allied with them. This balance is an important pre-condition for preserving and strengthening peace.

It has been a decisive factor in starting on the road to political detente, based on the efforts of the socialist countries and the main realistic-minded forces in the capitalist countries; a process which has been of political and economic benefit to all concerned and has opened up new vistas.

It has been a major element in thus far being able to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, which is to say a war involving missiles and nuclear weapons.

It has been the principal reason that Europe, which twice has been the starting point of a world war, is experiencing the longest period of peace in this century and that the continent itself is emerging as an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems.

It has provided the very basis on which successful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament can be conducted, as SALT I and SALT II have shown.

The concept of military-strategic balance of power as a pre-condition for peace is something relatively new. It was first used deliberately by the socialist countries who look upon it both as one of the foundations and as a guarantee for peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. This involves recognition of the fact that given present power relationships in the international class struggle this military-strategic balance must serve as the basis for reaching agreement on limiting, restricting and ultimately reducing armaments while preserving intact the security of all participants.

The member countries of the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly pointed out that there now exists "a military balance in Europe and in the world as a whole."[2] This assessment is based on an analysis of all the factors which need to be taken into account, including an overall comparison of nuclear and conventional weapons systems, their number and firepower, of troop strengths, of the strategic situation, of the consequences of possible surprise attacks and the effectiveness of defense installations. Geographic factors such as length and strategic location of borders, logistic and economic factors among others must also be considered.

To be sure, the military power relationship is extremely difficult to assess. To analyze it, a great number of quantitative and qualitative factors as well as global and regional ones must be taken into consideration. But, to be realistic, one must above all start out on the basis of the sum total of the military forces opposing each other. Any attempt to remove individual weapons systems or individual countries or even regions from their proper

context and to compare them will inevitably distort the picture. Overall, strategic balance is a reflection of the fact that neither side possesses or has hopes of attaining a devastating "first strike" capability.

Right up to the present, members of the U.S. government and of other NATO countries have more than once attested to the fact that approximate parity exists as between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. This was underscored in particular by the American President on the occasion of the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna in June 1979. Chancellor Schmidt of the FRG and other West European political leaders have also called attention to the existence of approximate parity.

The existing balance of power clearly calls for another dimension in international relations: the principle of equal security which makes it incumbent upon all sides not to aim for preponderance and military superiority and, most importantly, to have this principle serve as the basis for all negotiations and agreements on arms limitation, arms reduction and disarmament.

In this sense, the principle of equal security has been upheld both in multilateral agreements such as the final document of the U.N. special session on disarmament in 1978 and in bilateral agreements such as the joint USSR-U.S. communique in Vienna in 1979 and agreements between the USSR and the FRG, the USSR and France and others.

Efforts To Attain Military Superiority Endanger Balance of Power

In view of the present international situation the question is how this fundamental aspect of peaceful coexistence is being viewed. This calls for a more exact analysis of intentions, doctrines and actions along the following lines: Are these efforts directed toward recognition of this balance, toward the reduction of the level of military confrontation and toward arms limitation based on the aforementioned principle or is this imperative being disregarded.

It cannot be overlooked that there has been a growing tendency recently of members of government and military leaders of the capitalist countries --particularly the United States-- demanding openly that war or military power as an instrument of policy based on superiority be made practicable again or be employed more efficaceously. On the occasion of a visit to the Pentagon, U.S. President Carter declared that he would see to it that the United States remains the premier military power in the world.[3] He thus clearly oriented American arms and military policy toward attainment of military superiority.

Testifying before the Senate foreign relations committee on the goals of increased U.S. and NATO arms programs, U.S. secretary of defense Harold Brown said that the purpose was to "surpass" the Warsaw Pact; to "gain a clear advantage."[4] Appearing before the armed services committee later, he asked for an increase of his military budget by saying: "We must now decide whether we intend to remain the strongest nation on earth."[5] The quest for military superiority also came up in speeches given by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former NATOcommanding general Alexander Haig at a conference of military experts in Brussels in early September 1979 on the subject of "NATO and the Next 30 Years." "Their statements lead to the conclusion," an PRG press report said, "that they are looking for superiority instead of approximate parity."[6]

President Carter's state of the union message of January 1980 lists concrete programs which, if carried out, would lead to a breach of approximate military parity as between the USSR and the United States and the attainment of American military superiority. The strengthening of the military power of the United States and its allies is given top priority in the eighties. In the current fiscal year alone, U.S. military expenditures will increase by $20 billion and by the middle of the eighties the U.S. military budget is to be more than $200 billion.

Special emphasis is being placed on strengthening the nuclear missile arsenal. Development and production of qualitatively newer strategic offensive weapons systems, among them the MI missiles, fixed-wing missiles and Trident missiles, are proceeding. A start has been made on the development of an interventionist "rapid deployment force" together with a special fleet of floating naval bases and an air transport fleet capable of transporting large-size units to the farthest reaches of the earth.

In political science communities in the capitalist countries voices justifying this policy of military power and the deployment of it are becoming louder. R Kennedy of the U.S. Army College's Strategic Studies Institute calls the ability to resort to force a pre-condition for successful negotiation and defines the function of military power as being "its ability to threaten and, if necessary, to resort to military power so as to force a preferred point of view upon the world order."[7] So much is clear: The quest of the United States for military superiority is to serve the goal of "forcing the point of view preferred" by U.S. imperialism upon the world order.

The heightened arms buildup by the leading NATO power is based on designs for worldwide expansion and not on U.S. security interests. Thus the former American diplomat Arthur M. Cox wrote as long as 5 years ago: "Brookings Institute analysts believe the defense budget could be cut in half, if our only object were to defend the territory of the United States."[8] In the meantime, U.S. arms expenditures have escalated to such an extent that the discrepancy between security needs and expansionist designs has widened even more. The United States is the only country which disposes of a worldwide system of military bases in 114 countries.[9]

'New' U.S. Nuclear War Strategy

In this connection the most recent decision of the President of the United States relating to U.S. nuclear strategy must be viewed with considerable alarm. Jimmy Carter signed "directive 59" which calls for varying the targets of the strategic nuclear missiles. Essentially, this change is designed to carry out the first strike against military objectives in the Soviet Union, to lower the nuclear threshold so as to be able to wage a limited nuclear war.

This concept of a limited strategic nuclear war against the USSR is not new. It was developed as long ago as 1974 by the then U.S. defense secretary Schlesinger and its origins, in fact, go back even further than that. When all is said and done, it always conformed to the designs of the forces opposed to detente which mean to confront the Soviet Union from a position of strength and superiority.[10]

The attainment of strategic parity by the Soviet Union and the inability of the United States to carry out a decisive and devastating strike forced the various U.S. governments to recognize this parity situation. This was manifested in the documents relating to the limitation of strategic offensive weapons and missile systems of 1972, in the treaty on the prevention of nuclear war of 1973 as well as in later protocols.

But there always were powerful forces among the ruling circles of the United States which were unwilling to accept strategic parity. They were constantly looking for military superiority which they define as the capability of carrying out a devastating first strike with superior weapons systems. The quest to attain such a first strike capability has never been relinquished by any U.S. government. Their approach to arms control and disarmament agreements has been and always is tied to the option of leaving the way open for once again attaining military superiority. This was particularly apparent in the debate on SALT II in the United States.[11]

Contrary to the official pronouncements of the American government that it is prepared to maintain parity vis-a-vis the USSR and is cognizant of the danger of a violation of the principle, there are renewed attempts now to aim at overcoming the military-strategic balance both materially and conceptually. The United States is basing its efforts on the qualitative and quantitative development of new weapons systems designed to provide a new material foundation for its quest after military superiority, primarily in the sense of attaining a nuclear first strike capability. There are three aspects relating to the qualitative factors upon which they are basing their hopes.

The first factor is the accelerated improvement of the accuracy of the nuclear missile systems; secondly , they are trying to increase the strength of the warheads and thirdly , they are trying to perfect so-called invulnerability or at least to make it more difficult to defend against U.S. weapons systems.

In this way they are attempting to develop the capability for a "disarming" first strike. A start was made as long ago as late 1977 when 300 Minuteman III missiles were equipped with the MK-12a nuclear warhead which is twice as strong and as accurate as its predecessor. But with the signing of directive 59 the following new weapons systems are coming into play.

First , there is MX, the intercontinental mobile ballistic system of land-based nuclear missiles. 200 of these have been included in the U.S. arsenal. Based on statements of U.S. experts, these missiles have a destructive capability 20 times as great as that of Minuteman III due to their greater accuracy and strength; they are mobile and therefore considered invulnerable.

Secondly , there is the development and deployment of sea-based Trident II missiles with individually controllable and maneuverable warheads. Each U.S. atomic submarine, equipped with 24 of these missiles, is capable of annihilating at least 200 fortified military targets. A report prepared by the U.S. arms control and disarmament agency refers to these missiles as first strike weapons with a significant potential for destroying priority targets.

Thirdly , there is the development of new types of aircraft and missiles which are said to be insensitive or marginally sensitive to radar. According to U.S. defense secretary Brown, they are already in the testing stage and should, he says, alter the military balance considerably. Clearly, the new assessment of nuclear strategy undertaken by directive 59 is based in large part on these systems.

Fourthly , in the light of the President's directive, there is a need to assess the decision of 12 December 1979 relating to the development and deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missile systems (Pershing II and Cruise) in Western Europe. In view of strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, U.S. political leaders and military planners, in seeking renewed superiority, are concentrating not only on the development of new strategic weapons systems but also on regional aspects, which is to say a shift of "regional balnces of power" in their favor. In this, they assign highest priority to Europe. It is considered a particularly important arena of military confrontation with the Soviet Union and the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

The so-called Schlesinger report set the course in this direction in 1975. In positing alleged Soviet aggressive designs against Western Europe and the deterrent function of NATO, the report said that "the threat of mutual annihilation narrows the range in which enemy actions can be deterred by strategic forces and places greater emphasis on deterrence by medium-range missiles and conventional forces."[12]

As long ago as 1975 priority was thus given to increasing the NATO medium-range missile arsenal as part of a long-range strategic program whose point of departure was actual military-strategic balance and by no means Soviet military superiority. In the meantime, the present U.S. defense secretary Harold Brown has come out with much clearer and more comprehensive language. In his report to Congress on the proposed military budget for fiscal year 1980/81, he said: "In our view, NATO needs a strategic 'triad' of its own which is different from ours...It must dispose of nuclear-strategic forces, tactical nuclear weapons and non-nuclear forces."[13]

In practical terms, this comes down to dual military-strategic superiority. According to this scheme, the nuclear-strategic forces of the USSR would be opposed both by those of the United States and those of NATO. The first line would be occupied by the "Euro-strategic" weapons systems pursuant to the NATO resolution of December 1979 whereas the new weapons systems Pershing II and Cruise are clearly intended to provide a first strike capability. The 1975 Schlesinger report which "justified" the stronger emphasis on medium-range missiles had already provided in no uncertain terms for the nuclear first strike option. Although "clearly limited, the attack should be carried out with sufficient force and decisiveness in order effectively to alter the conceptions of the Warsaw Pact leaders and to create conditions favorable to negotiations."[14]

Now this was by no means a threatening gesture of a mere tactical nature for as M. Kahler of Princeton University points out there are indeed forces active in the United States today which hold the principle of "assured mutual annihilation" to be obsolete and which are therefore coming out in favor of making nuclear weapons "applicable."[15] And they are not restricted to the United States. Commenting on directive 59, FRG military analyst A Weinstein, known for his outspoken support for the aggressive NATO strategy, wrote on 6 September 1980: "It is no longer true that there can be no victors in a nuclear war. It would depend on what kind of nuclear war is waged. Whoever carries out a first strike with precision weapons and in so doing destroys the offensive weapons of the enemy has a chance of winning."[16]

NATO Missile Resolution Aims at Changing Military Balance

What significance does the NATO resolution of December 1979 have with respect to the military power relationship ? To add to the 8,000 nuclear units already positioned in Western Europe and the 1,000 delivery systems on board of warships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, it has been decided to produce qualitatively new American nuclear weapons and to deploy them in Western Europe, namely Pershing II missiles as well as fixed-wing missiles (the so-called Cruise missiles) with a range of 1,800 to 2,500 kilometers and an in-flight time of mere minutes. Their multiple warheads, being more accurate and harder to defend against, could hit different targets simultaneously. Early warning time would be reduced from 30 to 4 to 6 minutes.

Thus, it is not a matter of "simply modernizing" obsolete weapons, as it is said, which have the same purpose as heretofore, but of introducing strategic weapons which would reach from West European soil far into Soviet territory up to the foothills of the Urals. The NATO decision thus has the aim of bringing about a fundamental change in the strategic situation in Europe and at the same time undermines the agreements reached in the SALT II treaty. Bundeswehr major general (ret) G Bastian along with many other Western politicians and analysts considers this to be a "new situation" for the Soviet Union "in that the USSR does not have equal opportunities, namely to pose a nuclear threat to the United States with medium-range weapons."[17] So it may be said that the United States has set its course on developing a first strike capability in the European theater as well.

The NATO position relating to the proposed stationing of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe is being justified above all with the alleged need for "modernization." This position does not conform to reality-- either historically, politically or militarily. As to the historical aspect, it may be recalled that NATO's original tactical decision to station new American missiles

does not date from December 1979 but from the fall of 1977 when it was reached at the NATO nuclear planning group meeting in Bari. The official report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for FY 1980 states that the budget decisions for the development of the Pershing II missile were reached as long ago as 1974.[18] The Soviet missiles, however, which have repeatedly been used as ex post facto "justification" were an unknown quantity until 1975 by the United States' own admission. And the funds for the development of the fixed-wing missiles were decided upon even earlier, in 1972. Furthermore, it is worth recalling the previously mentioned American long-range plans for the attainment of military superiority which assign a labor-sharing role to the medium-range missiles.

As for the political aspect, long before the new medium-range nuclear systems of the United States and of NATO were decided upon and prior to the modernization of its own arsenal, the USSR proposed inclusion of medium-range weapons in the SALT negotiations. But, as the imperialist camp admits, these weapons were excluded by the United States.[19] Similarly, the Soviet proposals of 1979 for negotiations on the medium-range arsenal were simply brushed aside.

As for the military aspect, it should be pointed out that there is approximate parity in the medium-range nuclear weapons field, too, if not only similarity of available means but similarity of actual effectiveness are considered.

To justify the "modernization" lie, all sorts of calculations were being offered in the NATO countries, which were self-serving and exceeded the bounds of exaggeration. A particularly revealing example for this type of manipulation is a study commissioned by a group of CDU Bundestag deputies. According to the study, "Soviet superiority over NATO in short-range missiles stands at 4.5:1."[20] But Hamburg peace researcher Dieter S Lutz has taken a close look at the calculations on which this particular manipulation is based. He has found "that there is no way in which NATO military inferiority can be deduced in the TNF field. On the contrary, it cannot be ruled out that the Warsaw Pact may have to counter quantitative and qualitative improvements in the NATO arsenal by adopting modernization measures of its own."[21]

Comparative figures worked out by Lutz and based on total NATO and Warsaw Pact strength add up to a ratio of 1,622:1,637 systems. Now this reflects approximate parity without a doubt. In this calculation, the total number of weapons systems is taken into account as well as their differing qualitative criteria. Justifiably, the calculations are also based on the need to include U.S. and NATO systems frequently excluded by the bourgeois camp such as American equipped with Poseidon missiles operating in the Atlantic and the

Mediterranean under SACEUR; carrier-based aircraft in the same area, and all NATO with a range of more than 1,500 kilometers. Also included are the nuclear weapons systems of France and Great Britain.

As long as the aforementioned U.S. Forward Based systems which are capable of reaching the Soviet Union and against which the land-based Soviet missile arsenal constitutes a reply are excluded, there is no comparing and no negotiating about medium-range weapons systems. This is confirmed --unintentionally, it may be assumed-- in a report by the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, which states: "The U.S. contribution to LRTNF consists of forward-based F-111 and A-6 aircraft as well as a significant number of Poseidon RV's, all assigned to SACEUR."[22]

There are also major differences with regard to their strategic mission between the Soviet SS-20's and the proposed Pershing II's and the Cruise missiles which should notbe left out of consideration. The SS-20's are a replacement with no increase in range for the SS-4's and SS-5's which had already been in use for more than 10 years.

The deputy director of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, G Treverton, confirmed this fact which has been pointed out by the Soviet Union on a number of occasions, stating the SS-20 poses "no qualitatively new threat" as compared to the obsolete delivery systems.[23] And Stockholm-based SIPRI in its latest yearbook also states that "if the existing missiles are replaced piecemeal by SS-20's, this does not introduce a quantitatively new threat." As for designating the Pershing II and Cruise missiles as "modernization," SIPRI calls that an "understatement" pointing to "qualitatively new capabilities" NATO could gain at the expense of the Warsaw Pact organization.

The number of medium-range missiles has not been increased in the European part of the USSR during the past 10 years, nor has the number of corresponding aircraft. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has stationed no such weapons on the territory of its allies. As a matter of fact, the number of medium-range missile launch pads and their nuclear warhead strength were decreased somewhat as was the number of medium-range bombers. The ministerial meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group in The Hague in November 1979 itself confirmed the fact that "the total number of Soviet missile launching sites targeted on NATO territory in Europe has been reduced somewhat in recent years."[24]

In a speech before the Brookings Institute in February 1980, defense secretary Harold Brown also acknowledged the fact that the USSR did not increase the number of its medium-range weapons and warheads in the seventies, but in fact decreased them.[25]

Thus, the NATO decision to develop, produce and station new medium-range nuclear systems in Western Europe is not the result of military superiority or a threat on the part of the Warsaw Pact states but based on the desire to attain military superiority and to abrogate the principle of equal security as the basis of mutual relations and negotiations.

A Deadly Scheme

The entire scheme of the United States and of NATO to gain superiority with the help of new weapons systems is highly dangerous and a threat to peace:

1. The danger of a general war involving missiles and nuclear weapons is not reduced but heightened; above all because there is an erroneous assumption of being able to wage and to win a limited nuclear war. It is a view that completely disregards reality that a localized nuclear war could be waged. Any nuclear attack would escalate into a direct confrontation in short order and involve retaliatory strikes. The 30th Pugwash conference of noted world scientists in late August 1980 rightly called for steps to counter this madness. M Kaplan of the United States, the secretary general of the international Pugwash movement said in conclusion: "Perhaps the worst thing that has happened is the increasing promotion and public acceptance of the idea that limited nuclear wars could be fought without the risk of nuclear escalation, that nuclear wars could be survived and won."[26]

2. The danger of nuclear conflict is heightened as a result of attempts by the United States and NATO to develop a first strike capability which is to say --in connection with directive 59-- above all in Europe. The deployment of new medium-range systems in Western Europe turns these countries into nuclear hostages of the United States to all intents and purposes. Whereas the United States are aiming for a considerable military advantage vis-a-vis the Soviet Union by adding these missile systems, the West European countries are called upon to bear the "nuclear risk." This has not only led to considerable uneasiness among the population but also to suspicion and anxiety among realistically thinking West European politicians.

Contrary to the U.S. position, official and unofficial views are being voiced in some of the smaller member states of NATO which oppose the new U.S. strategy aimed at lowering the nuclear threshold. This is true for example of the two largest political parties in the Netherlands[27] and equally of the retired FRG general Baudissin who now heads the Hamburg Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy and who warns of the dangerous consequences this U.S. nuclear war strategy would have.[28] There is a growing realization that the danger of military conflict in Europe and

for its population cannot be "escalated out of existence" by introducing new weapons systems but that military detente and arms reduction are needed.

3. The arms race is being stepped up. There are new rounds being started which forces the socialist states to take the necessary steps to safeguard their military security in view of the acute threat. History proves that the socialist states have the capability to match any new weapons technology introduced by NATO with corresponding new weapons of their own which are necessary for their defense. But it is a new round in the arms race with its very grave consequences that the socialist states would like to prevent.

It should be noted that a new round in the arms race does not in any sense signify a mere numerical enlargement of "somewhat modernized" weapons systems. Based on this erroneous thesis, some bourgeois journalists have come to the "reassuring" conclusion that military balance is bound to restore itself in the end. This would lead to a restoration of the status quo guaranteeing world peace once more. If one group of states were to add more arms to its side of the scales, the "international scales" would balance out again as soon as the other group of states adds an equal number of "weights" to its side.

The metaphor of the scales is antiquated and obviously deficient because of the mechanistic symbolism involved, even if it does have a certain descriptive value. At any rate, if it is used, one must not overlook a most important fact. Any scales can be weighed down up to a point. But if it is overloaded, the whole system collapses.

Any sober and objective assessment of the military-strategic situation in the world and above all in Europe must lay stress on the conclusion that armaments both in terms of quantity and quality are now dangerously close to the upper limit of the loading capacity of the military balance system. There is a fundamental threat to strategic stability in any new round of the arms race, particularly in the development, production and deployment of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems with materially new capabilities. More and more realistically thinking politicians are coming to realize this. The long-time head of ACDA, Paul Warnke, for example, wrote: "The Russians are capable of warding off any threat to strategic equality just as we are able to forestall any attempt of theirs to attain superiority. The result of any stepped-up competition will be a situation comparable to the present but characterized by a higher level of potential destruction and more unsettled political conditions...Today, the best alternative which offers a guarantee against nuclear war is the

conclusion of agreements on strategic arms control conducive to reducing tensions and to paving the way to comprehensive and more effective disarmament in the future."[29]

4. An arms race which aims at the attainment of military superiority undermines the principle of equality of states in the system of international relations. The quest for hegemony is fostered; a policy of strength and the attempt to apply military pressure and to resort to blackmail to turn negotiations into dictates gains favor. There would doubtless be an increase in tensions and in suspicion between groups of states not only in international relations including those in the economic field. Clearly, this would also impede the work of all existing and projected bodies dealing with arms control and disarmament and impair the basis for negotiation.

5. Finally, there is a need to point to the many economic and social consequences of such a process for all states whether directly or indirectly concerned. Although these consequences are not discussed here, there is no doubt but that they would be extremely grave.

Arms Limitation and Disarmament Based on Equal Security

Despite all presently existing tensions and difficulties in world affairs, the socialist states believe that the process of detente and the results attained thus far must continue to have priority in international relations. They are in favor of constructive steps such as to counter further hardening of the international and the European situation.

The socialist states aspire neither to military superiority nor to a shift of the military balance which has historically evolved in their favor. This applies both to the strategic balance between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in the European area. It was already in 1977 that Leonid Brezhnev called the allegations according to which the Soviet Union was aspiring to nuclear superiority in order to carry out a first strike "nonsensical and totally unfounded," adding that "our efforts are in fact aimed at preventing both a first strike and a second strike and, for that matter, nuclear war itself."[30]

In May 1980, the Warsaw Pact countries renewed their pledge of never developing a nuclear first strike capability and of never arrogating to themselves any control over "spheres of influence" or international transport routes.[31] Their whole policy aims at eliminating the military factor. But as long as significant progress in the direction of general and total disarmament cannot be reached, the military factor continues to be important. That

is why the preservation of the military balance is one of the fundamentals of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. But it is not only a military factor but also a pre-condition for practical measures aimed at arms limitation and disarmament.

The central goal of the foreign and security policy of the Warsaw Pact countries continues to be a reduction in the level of military confrontation on the basis of reciprocal reduction of forces and armaments. Their policy continues to be based on the principle of equal security, respect for the legitimate security interests of other states and readiness to enter negotiations about all types of weapons. The only condition they attach to all their proposals for arms limitation and disarmament is unequivocal and effective respect for the principle of equal security for both sides.

This position is also being supported by leading bourgeois experts. G Kristiakowski, for example, a former scientific adviser of the President of the United States and a long-time member of the top staff at the Los Alamos atomic center, wrote: "To reach agreement (on arms limitation-ed) we must unequivocally grant the Soviet Union equal status and take her legitimate security needs into consideration."[32]

The Warsaw Pact countries consider the preservation of approximate parity of forces an important stabilizing factor in world affairs. For this reason, their proposals have been and still are aimed at maintaining approximate military balance at a level to be gradually lowered with a view to reaching effective and mutually acceptable reductions in arms expenditures.

The Warsaw Pact countries are making numerous efforts to thwart any attempt aimed at disturbing the military-strategic balance and achieving one-sided military superiority. Now that the United States and other NATO members have set their sights on a new, stepped-up arms race, the Warsaw Pact countries have no other choice to adopt measures to increase their defense preparedness in the sense of preserving approximate military parity. These are measures that pose no threat to the security of any other country. But the socialist states cannot accept any disturbance of the military-strategic balance because this would endanger their security and threaten world peace.

The communique of the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact countries in May of this year spells out the main points of this coordinated socialist foreign policy which is in the interest of their own security needs and those of the world as a whole:

First: Agreement on the principle that no state or group of states in Europe may after a certain date increase the numerical strength of its armed forces in the area designated by the Helsinki Final Act. This is also how the most recent initiative of the socialist participants at the Vienna negotiations is to be understood. The deadlock at these negotiations could thus be broken and first results could be achieved, if the proposal were accepted to withdraw 20,000 military personnel of the USSR and 13,000 of the United States during the first stage of troop reductions as well as to impose a collective "freeze" on troop levels during the "intervals" between the reduction stages.

Second: Strict adherence to all terms of the Helsinki Final Act, above all to the basic principles all participants have pledged to uphold-- such as the renuncication of force or the threat to use force; the inviolability of national frontiers; the peaceful settlement of disputes; the non-interference in internal affairs; the fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Third: Intensive bilateral and multilateral exchanges of opinion in order to structure the Madrid conference in such a way that practical steps aimed at comprehensive implementation of the Final Act can be agreed upon.

Fourth: Stepped-up preparations for a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe with the aim of reaching practical decisions in Madrid on the agenda, date, location and mode of operation of the conference and of concentrating the work during the initial phase on confidence-building measures.

Fifth: Ratification of the SALT II treaty and speedy conclusion of negotiations going on at present and/or broken off such as the talks on banning nuclear tests, radiological and chemical weapons and on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear nations.

Sixth: Immediate start of constructive negotiations on such issues as a world treaty on the non-application of force, a ban on the production of nuclear weapons and a ban on the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

Seventh: Discussions on the limitation and reduction of military presence and military activities in the Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf.[33]

The primary object of all these efforts and proposals is to make further progress in reducing the danger of nuclear war. In addition to the ratification of SALT II, this calls for reopening the way to negotiations on medium-range missiles. As is well known, these

negotiations were blocked as a result of the refusal of the Soviet offer of 6 October 1979 and the NATO resolution on medium-range missiles of December 1979.

New Soviet Proposals

The newest initiative of the Soviet leadership calling for immediate consultations on the best approaches to solve the medium-range nuclear missile issue which was submitted both to the chancellor of the FRG on the occasion of his visit to Moscow in June 1980 and to the U.S. leadership is therefore of extraordinary, fundamental and topical importance. What are its main points ?

Its purpose is to start discussions and preliminary negotiations as soon as possible on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe--even prior to ratification of the SALT II treaty which, as is known, has been blocked by the destructive position taken by the United States.

The point is to conduct these talks "within the organic context" of the issue of the so-called forward based American nuclear weapons, including, as mentioned previously, the F-111 and Phantom combat aircraft stationed in Great Britain as well as American nuclear submarines assigned to NATO, particularly those on patrol in the Mediterranean.

Arms limitation agreements reached in these talks, if any, could be taken up which is to say realized following ratification of SALT II.

Such talks could commence without any pre-conditions whatsoever.

Erich Honecker, secretary-general of the SED central committee, has called these proposals "a means of breaking the impasse in the disarmament dialogue caused by the NATO missile resolution in Brussels."[34] Evidence that the proposals are considered to be meaningful is reflected in positive statements on some aspects of them in various European NATO countries. Thus, FRG chancellor Helmut Schmidt said he thought the inclusion of FBS in such consultations to be "quite logical," adding that he could "appreciate the Soviet position with respect to SALT II."[35] SPD disarmament expert Pawelczyk made a point of stressing that the Soviet proposal offers a way of gaining time and "one possibility of preventing an arms race in Europe in the medium-range nuclear systems field."[36]

Addressing letters to Western heads of state and government in August, the secretary-general of the CPSU central committee, Leonid Brezhnev, made new efforts to get the talks started. In a joint press conference, the U.S. and FRG foreign ministers reacted --at least indirectly-- by announcing their readiness to enter preliminary talks soon.[37]

But in this case, too, the idea is to take concrete steps without delay. And, one cannot help noting that a kind of rejection movement against the USSR proposals is already beginning to form in some of the NATO countries. There are demands, for example, not to include FBS in the talks, but only medium-range missiles. But even NATO military experts do not deny --as we have already shown-- that the stationing of Soviet medium-range missiles in European Russia was meant as and still constitutes a reply to the so-called FBS which in effect fulfill the function of medium-range nuclear missiles. In the final analysis, the issue is the entire range of weapons which fulfill the same or a similar function-- unless one is making an attempt arbritarily to alter the present approximate military balance in one's own favor.

Pessimistic estimates are also being given according to which it would be extremely difficult to conduct such talks and negotiations because of the subject matter involved. It may even take years to agree on a mutually acceptable definition of the matter at issue, it is said.

But: the subject matter treated by SALT I and SALT II also was extremely varied, particularly with respect to the comparability of types of weapons, their location and range and their destructive capabilities, etc. Nonetheless, results were achieved conforming to well-perceived bilateral interests. The decisive aspect is mutual good will which in the end contributes greatly to mutual trust. The peoples impatiently expect and yearn for negotiations. The apparent and totally unfounded hesitancy in the guise of the alleged need to give careful "study" to the USSR proposal gives rise to suspicions that the object is to gain time in order to pursue goals and arms measures of one's own and to create accomplished facts of a most dangerous nature.

Today's world is one of heightened tensions. The situation is complicated. It demands the highest degree of political readiness to to work toward and to conduct a dialogue about issues in dispute and at the same time to avoid anything that might contribute to aggravating the situation. A shift toward military detente in the eighties is possible, if the negotiations are based on the existing approximate strategic balance and the principle of equal security for all sides.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 9 Sep 1980
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 24 Nov 1978
3. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 8 Mar 1977

4. ICA-BULLETIN, Washington/Bonn, 20 Sep 1979

5. NEW YORK TIMES, New York, 14 Dec 1979

6. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 8 Sep 1979

7. R. Kennedy, "Essays on Measuring the Strategic Balance" in "U.S.A. and the Strategic Balance," Munich, 1980, p 23

8. A.M. Cox, "The Dynamics of Detente," New York 1976, p 130

9. NEUE ZEIT, Moscow, No 4, 1979

10. Cf J. Stelzow, "Strategic Parity or Strategic Superiority ?" in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, No 8. 1980, p 95ff

11. Ibid

12. J.R. Schlesinger, "The Theater Nuclear Force Posture in Europe: A Report to the United States Congress in Compliance with Public Law 93-365," Washington, U.S. Department of Defense, 1 Apr 1975, p 2

13. Quoted by S.D. Fair, "TNF and the Strategic Balance" in "U.S.A. and the Strategic Balance," loc cit, p 38

14. J.R. Schlesinger, loc cit, p 15

15. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 1 Jul 1980

16. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Frankfurt/Main 6 Sep 1980, p 10

17. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main 13 Aug 1980

18. Fiscal Year 1980 Arms Control Impact Statement, 96th Congress, 1st Sec, Mar 1979, Washington, DC, p 135

19. See e.g. P. Schlotter, S. Tiedke, "Is There an Alternative to Rearmament in Europe ?" Frankfurt/Main, 1980

20. H. Hoffmann, R. Steinruecke, "Armament and Disarmament in the Euro-Nuclear Area," Washington/Bonn 1979, p 35

21. D.S. Lutz, "The Military Strength Ratio in the Field of Euro-Nuclear Weapons Systems," IFSH-FORSCHUNGSBERICHTE, No 12, Hamburg, Oct 1979, pp 31-32

22. Group of Authors, "The Controlled Chaos: The Crisis of Disarmament," Frankfurt/Main, 1980

23. Cf G. Treverton, "Nuclear Weapons and the Gray Area" in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, Summer 1979, p 1080

24. EUROPA-ARCHIV, Bonn, No 2, 1980, p D 29

25. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 31 Jul 1980

26. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 5 Sep 1980

27. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 12 Aug 1980

28. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 15 Aug 1980

29. P. Warnke, M. Krepton, "The Awesome Pact Behind the SALT-Debate" in "Across the Board," New York, No 3, 1979, p 18 ff

30. NEUE ZEIT, Moscow, No 26, 1980, p 11

31. Declaration by Member States of Warsaw Pact in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 16 May 1980

32. DEFENSE MONITOR, Washington, Mar 1978, p 7

33. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 16 May 1980

34. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 26 Aug 1980

35. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, 7 Jul 1980

36. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 21 Jul 1980

37. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris, 28 Aug 1980

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CROATIAN SELF-MANAGEMENT ATTORNEY DISCUSSES PROBLEMS

Zagreb SEDAM DANA Supplement to VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 80 pp 8-9

[Interview with Attorney Jure Ivezic by Vlado Rajic]

[Text] Last year alone, self-management attorneys handled 18,000 cases and for each one of them they were to find an appropriate solution and coordinate particular interests with Yugoslav self-management practices. How did they find their way through all of this in order to perform the tasks that the society requires of them? The numerous difficulties they encountered can best be illustrated by examples of those evaluations that threaten to remove investment capital from some basic organizations of associated labor where the decisions insist on the application of provisions of the Law on Associated Labor.

[Rajic] I have attended many meetings and heard my fill. Recently I have been hearing louder and louder the repeated thesis that in introducing self-management, we made a great mistake, because we should have educated the workers to deal with self-management first, and only then introduced the system itself. What should be the response? It is as if we had forgotten that one can only learn to swim in the water.

[Rajic] That was the comment with which our conversation with Jure Ivezic, about the work of the public self-management attorneys began. Ivezic is the public self-management attorney for Croatia. We talked about the people who are professionally responsible for finding the route between the Scylla and Charybdis of self-management practice.

[Rajic] We recall that after the first enthusiasm, the willingness of the attorneys to cooperate in filling newspaper columns fell very rapidly. They simply do not appear publicly.

[Ivezic] At first there was a fear in some places that our function would be transformed into a source for data for a "black chronicle." To that we must add the pressures on the attorneys from some offices typified by the line "Comrades, let's not bring these things out into the open, so that we can avoid causing public scandals." This completes the picture of some of our absence (if such is the case) from the pages of the newspapers and radio and television programs. Those have been and are the two extremes in discussions about presenting our work. Here too,

it is forgotten firstly that the law obliges us to perform a public function and secondly, items from our operations cannot be regarded as an element for increasing circulation, but rather as a serious political evaluation of the causes and results of some self-management situation.

Paid For, But It Does Not Work

[Rajic] How can those pressures be overcome?

[Ivezic] We should not waste time on them. You see, for example, the attorneys made a list of some tens of labor organizations and other working units in the republic where relationships have been poisoned for years. Some of them could already celebrate anniversaries of their own stupidities. Under such circumstances, time does not heal, but rather only worsens the situation. Things become more tense and consequently we had to conduct lengthy discussions in a number of communities in order to resolve such problems. And we encountered varying degrees of understanding.

[Rajic] When does that misunderstanding cause the most difficulty?

[Ivezic] This happens when organizations of particular social importance are involved, such as schools or hospitals. At one health institution relationships were so bad that the story spilled out onto the streets, so that the citizens themselves demanded that order be restored no matter what the cost. In another case, at a school, we had to institute temporary measures. In such an environment there can be no healing, nor study and learning.

[Rajic] Data indicate that last year self-management attorneys handled 18,000 cases. Is that a reflection of trust in your function, or of something else?

[Ivezic] I would not venture to say that it is only because of trust that there are so many cases on our desks. We know that many have come to us only after they have tried everything else, after they have tried to find solutions in the party and the trade union, the community and the assembly. Recently, the president of a community executive council sent a comrade, a man who had been a soldier, to have the attorney resolve a matter that had long been awaiting resolution. I asked him where his request was waiting, and he responded that it was at the community headquarters. But you see, he was being paid to decide such matters in the executive council quickly and with respect for persons.

A Full Measure of Manipulation

[Rajic] And now the question is whether the self-management attorney is more a community, and less a social position.

[Ivezic] Well there are all kinds of us. From the beginning it was unclear that the self-management attorney dare not become a functionary outside the system, a functionary of the political system who would only call up constitutional formulations as his support, that he was an agent of the social community. Even today that is not completely clear, so that errors occur literally everyday. Let us say that some responsible comrade from a community calls me to say that his at-

torney is making ultraleftist policies. He tells him "Forget that Law on Associated Labor, that is not for us undeveloped people." Or let us consider judgements involving temporary social protection measures. The community executive council and the attorney are authorized to propose such measures. The first does not want to cause hard feelings, and that becomes a reason that is stronger than the Constitution. There have been cases where a criminal action has been instituted against an attorney. That shows the extent to which someone can be an impassioned and oppressive bureaucratic addlehead, when he becomes involved with the court, after which comes a party punishment, rebuke at meetings, release from duties and the like.

I would also say this: We have had to arrange a special series of meetings and inter-community committees of the League of Communists in order to assure some community leaders, party people and others that they cannot regard the attorney as a party to their agenda of daily obligations. When we are involved in such things, it is clear where we stand. To take an example from Rijeka: There there are 15,000 residents of the city waiting for apartments from the city Housing Office, and there is a full measure of manipulation taking place. Now those people are not angry at the Housing Office, but at the entire society. Now you tell me, how the attorney is to work with individual partners from some communities that cannot comprehend that there is also an advocate in their area that is not under their command.

[Rajic] Then that means that the community structures do not have much respect for the self-management attorneys?

[Ivezic] Such generalizations are dangerous. I do agree, however, that everything depends on the people who are doing the job. If as a man, he is able to develop authority and respect for himself, then he will have it as a self-management attorney also. I do not support the notion of docile attorneys, but neither am I in favor of those who immediately grab for the paragraph in print. Those people should not be where they are either. That is not because the function of the attorney is something heroic, but rather that the man who "releases water onto the meadow" can put a question mark on the entire function of self-management attorney, bringing damage and disgrace upon it. We should not be guided by the fact that there are personnel problems in other structures, and that the implementation of the Law on Associated Labor is not being discussed in the trade unions, committees and community assemblies. We can establish our authority only by our own work.

Between Reality and Necessity

[Rajic] So you defend the attorneys resolutely?

[Ivezic] I defend them, and do so in principle as responsible people and as a function. Concerning individuals, of course, speaking in concrete terms, we can talk as we do about the personnel in other organizations. I am the first who would direct their attention by saying "Colleague, that is not a decision that you can make in this position. It lacks these points, and you have failed to consider these elements." On the other hand, if a committee secretary or the president of a community takes a critical position regarding "his" attorney, and

in doing so is not expressing the opinion of a forum but rather his own specially camouflaged one using the formula "we discussed that more broadly," then I will defend the man with all my strength. For it is better to show the mistake of a single attorney than that of all 3 councils of the community assembly.

Stabilization has brought many errors to light. You know what they tell me: Why is that attorney "of mine" complicating things? He jumps on the SAS [expansion: self-management administrative council? translator]: "Let him rest a little, until we finish our investments." What should I tell such people? Or they call me from 4 or 5 communities to say that things are thick, that their basic organizations of associated labor that were formed by the dispersion (or the integration) of the Zagreb economy are suffering torment in implementing the Law on Associated Labor, for some from the "administration" are threatening and growling about the Law on Associated Labor, and we are withdrawing investments. Imagine an evaluation that says either money or self-management.

[Rajic] How is an attorney to be established in those circumstances?

[Ivezic] That is what I would ask you, how? How can we fail to admit that the argument of the community member is convincing, when he says: "Don't, brother, we are going to lose money, and then what have we done." That is the squeeze in which the attorney often finds himself, between reality and necessity, on the one hand, and his constitutional and social responsibilities on the other.

[Rajic] Is it easier if he is working on a case from a smaller organization?

[Ivezic] All together, and not only the attorneys, step on the small ones easiest. However, when large organization are involved, their commercial results and high income are impressive and few would venture to ask about the progress of self-management. I have read the answer of the director of a large labor organization to precisely that question. He said that self-management was going well, for they had provided hot rations, barracks for dwellings, and seen to the workers' recreation and annual vacations. Well, is that self-management?

[Rajic] Is the director always to blame?

[Ivezic] He is often to blame without any guilt. From an analysis that we made it was shown that the director in, eg., a self-management organization of associated labor, or a large labor organization, is far away from his workers. Anyway, where would he get if he maintained contacts with several thousand people. Along with the director, however, there is a whole series of lieutenants, --managers and officials from labor organizations that can make a man's life miserable. A paradoxical statistic points out how dangerous those lieutenants are: 70 percent of the rights of workers were violated by decisions of labor councils and worker assemblies. Naturally, this is so since the officials hid themselves behind the proclaimed decisions that they themselves had composed, so that they are the only ones who can understand them. That is opportunism, for the members of the workers' council cannot and should not know how to write legal paragraphs.

What is a Preventative, then?

[Rajic] All of these examples illustrate an unusual situation: If things are to be cleared up completely, Jure Ivezic is needed to help. How do you evaluate an attorney who needs your authority, because by himself he can make no progress?

[Ivezic] Such interventions should be regarded as abnormal-normal cases. After all, the ambitions of the attorneys vary, as do their abilities and also, their influence in their own situation and in other functions.

[Rajic] I know, but there are attorneys with political ambitions who perhaps want to launch their careers from this platform, while at the same time there are those who are at the end of their public activities, and who have taken this job only to increase their pension base. What about them?

[Ivezic] We should not put a tragic coloration on the fact that attorneys want to go to other positions. That is a type of recognition of their work as attorneys, for we must not forget that that job involves dealing with human distress. There is no one who will come to praise the attorney if everything is all right with him.

I would, however, like to talk of an assertion that comes from some of the most responsible and well-intentioned people, who say that the attorneys should be more involved in preventive measures, rather than in individual cases. I do not agree with that, although I believe that a terminological misunderstanding, as to what preventive measures mean, is to some extent to blame for the assertion. If that means to close the doors to workers and go from meeting to meeting, then the function of the attorney should be abolished immediately.

[Rajic] There is much that is unclear in connection with that. Why is there so much insistence on the application of something that is unclear?

[Ivezic] So far no one has attempted to define the concept of preventive measures as a method of operation for the attorneys, and I even believe that it would be impossible to do so. Therefore, we try to resolve it by examples. Let us say that a worker complains about the housing waiting list. We go there and discover that there either are no procedures or they are worthless. Then the attorney forces them to prepare a set of procedures and thereby, to make it possible to protect the rights of other workers as well. Is that a preventive measure? Consider the functioning of self-management worker controls. In the past 2 years, who has tried to bring those people together in one place and encourage them a little to work more decisively? And yet symposia are held by those people who paste stamps on envelopes. That means that a preventive measure would be to conduct political work with those people.

[Rajic] Is it a preventive measure if all self-management agencies operate in a place where the causes of some self-management malfunction has occurred?

[Ivezic] It is, and that can best be seen in the cooperation of the attorneys and the judges of associated labor. I always say, the offices and lists will not bring about any resolution to the difficulties. While we continue to behave in

that way, we will live in the false illusion that everything can be solved by state or pseudoofficial agencies. Look at the example in Croatia, where we have instituted 6 supreme courts that are parallel, based on the general constitutional conception according to which, in the self-management system, the workers and citizens themselves solve their own working and living problems, and their mutual relationships.

Step on the Corns of Troublemakers

[Rajic] Has there been a practice in some decisions where the attorneys avoid pressures not to announce the results of their work publicly?

[Ivezic] The attorney can accomplish a great deal if he submits his proposal to the community assembly, and then it is read and justified before the delegates. There have been attempts, for example in Vinkovci and Split, to suppress cases, but when the proposal reached the delegates' benches, the process had to be carried through. Then it was recommended to 2 collectives of those cities that they have a two-month period in which to correct matters.

[Rajic] Should self-management have such corrective periods?

[Ivezic] It should! Experience has taught us that. Situations are not clear just because we have the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Let us say, a clash occurs between the workers' council and the director about housing malversation. The attorney said, "shouldn't you prepare a good set of regulations, and institute temporary measures." But those temporary measures do not involve changing people, but rather the momentary suspension of the entire system. Therefore, before their implementation it is worthwhile to provide a period in which to utilize all possibilities and avoid this drastic one.

[Rajic] Aren't such periods usually used mainly by various hard heads who can't stand self-management?

[Ivezic] We forget the year that we are living, and the society in which we live, and the way that we work, for how can we explain that some yell to us: "Open up to the public more," while others fear scandal. Yet no one thinks about the fact that these situations dare not happen in our society. And every individual must know that, as well as what awaits him if he does not behave in a proper way. Comrade Vladimir Bakeric, for example, in an interview with the newspaper BORBA, said that all opponents of development should have their corns tramped on.

[Rajic] One gets the impression that the attorneys avoid the public eye also because they doubt their own effectiveness.

[Ivezic] That is right. At times there are too many dilemmas so that is seems that we do not know what we want and how far our decision or proposal will reach. Yet we know that cooperation needs 2 sides. I can come to you with any sort of data, but if you say that it has no connection, then the cause is lost. Even the attorneys are not always in favor of cooperation. Some of them like to stay off to the side and let the crush pass them by it is easier that way. There is

also conformism and resignation, and the feeling that nothing is being resolved or can be resolved. To be clear, I think it is necessary to keep the final goal in view and see if we are moving toward it with little steps, or are we just stamping in place.

[Rajic] What forces us to stamp?

[Ivezic] Here is an example for you: In agreement with the director, the disciplinary commission in a basic organization of associated labor punishes a driver who stole a truckload of lumber. He unloaded the lumber somewhere and it was found later. The decision of the disciplinary commission was that he should be punished with a rebuke, for he had committed a violation but "the lumber belonged to a competing enterprise, and was not ours." There you see what is vital, that conflict between the legality of the system we are building and the shortcomings of our own democratic culture, which continues to support a group ownership mentality, which can in turn be regarded as one of the greatest sources of our social difficulties.

The Self-Management Organization of Associated Labor, That's the Slogan

[Rajic] A remarkable practice has been introduced. In situations where the basic organizations of associated labor cannot reach agreement, they are being disbanded. What do the attorneys do in such cases?

[Ivezic] They do nothing! Some 80 percent of the commissions for implementing the Law on Associated Labor in communities and basic organizations have not even met this year. On the other hand, some self-management organizations of associated labor have emerged out of time and space. I asked in a working environment what that acronym SOUR means, besides a sign, and someone told me, "Well we have sportsmen too."

In the Constitution we clearly established that the labor organization is a family of basic organizations of associated labor and the latter cannot function outside it, but that means nothing if the regulations are not maintained. Now the opinion arises that the whole self-management idea should be put into the basic organizations of associated labor, and it is understood that the completion of the structure will include bureaucratic and administrative personnel. That would only lead to increased administration, but to no particular self-management effects, for it is clear that the superfluous official in the basic organization and in the Federal Executive Council is the same man: both of them eat the income of the worker, and do not create it. In that race of officials the situation is simply absurd: hiding from one another, 2 directors of basic organizations in the same labor organization go abroad to undercut the other's price (depending, or course, upon who arrives first).

[Rajic] Can the self-management attorneys influence a reduction in the volume and length of self-management acts?

[Ivezic] Not completely! That has already become big business. For example, the district economic courts receive carloads of fat goods comprising our self-

management acts. What is a judge to do but to see that the document has a signature and a seal and approve it. Who is to read it all? That is the source of the illusion that everything must be regulated, when it has already been clear for a long time that we do not even know how to follow the law strictly. And here we can note the absurdity that 2 years ago the Yugoslav Assembly approved the Resolution on Implementing the Law. Who knows if we are adhering to it, probably not. Most of the self-management acts can be characterized as heavy books for which someone received massive honoraria, but for which not even the printer at times should be paid, since they contain so many errors. The collectives are not to blame, but rather something in the concept that all relationships must be regulated by a self-management act. From act to act, until a pile forms, and the content is precisely summed up in the tale "How Little Djokica Understands Self-Management." Let me finish with the example of a complex in Slovenia that, in order to satisfy all its self-management obligations, was required to write and approve 1500 self-management acts!

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